1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma tama poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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836 by the people as a necking party is in the United States. There is seldom, if ever, any secrecy surrounding such momentary love matches, and whereas the girls come [522] in for a certain amount of joking from the older people, it is the boys who bear the greater brunt of the jokes. A term commonly heard in such joking sessions is that of *muy tatani* (very devilish) and it is used to describe the feelings of a young [797] man or woman toward his, or her, partner. Such premarital affairs are regarded as quite normal and natural, in spite of the nominal acceptance of the Catholic [893] faith, and, as my workmen once pointed out, a young man is naturally *muy toro* and must have his girls and stay up late at night. However, when a person reaches the age of about thirty he is described as being only *medio torito*.

848 Should a child be born out of wedlock there is never a curse on mother, child, or father. On Easter Island, as in many parts of the rural world, a large family [842] is looked upon as highly desirable since the children can eventually help with the work. With this concept well entrenched in the culture of the island, a girl bringing a child with her into marriage constitutes an advantageous acquisition.

431 A side light on the problems of courting comes from a statement made by 836 Martin Rapu, one of our foremen. Martin reflected that when he was young and unmarried (he is now twenty-two and was married at twenty) he changed girls often and it was much trouble and quiet costly, for he had to give each new girl [581] presents from time to time. Finally his father advised him to get married, for he, the father, could no longer afford the gifts that Martin needed each time he changed girls. Martin then added that he had found married life a lot calmer and more peaceful than that of his premarital years.

584 When a boy has finally decided upon the girl he wants to marry he may ask for her through her parents in one of two ways. He may go personally to the girl's father or mother and ask for the girl. If he is accepted he returns home immediately and notifies his father of the fact. The father then goes to the house of the girl's parents and the two families give a party to which their respective extended family relatives are invited. Both families join in furnishing liquor and food for the affair, though the boy's father may go through the ceremony of pouring the first [583] round of drinks. At this time there appears to be a small exchange of gifts between the families, apparently no more than a token exchange, for Jorge mentioned that a little money might change hands, but in telling of it he did not seem to regard it as much of anything.

The second method of arranging a marriage is for the youth to tell his father of the girl he wishes to marry. It then becomes the father's duty to go to the house of the girl and, bringing with him a little liquor, ask the father or mother of the girl for permission for his son to marry her. Consent appears to be primarily

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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showing the number of individuals with mixed blood, but second place, immediately following the Tahitian, in the table of percentages. This apparent contradiction is explained by the recent influx of Chilean blood, which tends to increase, while Tahitian, German, French and other older strains have a tendency to diminish, so that the proportions of these elements are rather low.

CIVIL REGISTRATION

The great freedom which prevails in sexual relations does not prevent frequent legal marriages. As a general rule, the natives marry young and a celibate over 30 years of age is an exception. In numerous instances widowed persons remarry, especially if still young, and there are widows who have had three or four husbands (Catalina Tori Makotahia, for example).

Therefore, even if one considers as celibates all the young people over 13 years, the percentage of married people remains always greater.

	Individuals	Percent
Married	112	46.66
Celibates	94	38.74
Widowed persons	34	14.60
Total	240	100.00

ILLEGITIMATE AND LEGITIMATE CHILDREN

From 1915 to 1917, following the creation of a government register at Easter Island, almost all the unions which had been given religious consecration were legalized and at the same time the greater number of the children legitimized. That is why we shall consider as illegitimate those children who were born out of wedlock after 1917 and those who were not recognized at that time.

Even with these reservations the number of illegitimate children is fairly high. It amounts to 96, which constitutes 21 percent of the total population.

ILLITERACY

Public instruction in Easter Island until the past year was the most rudimentary. Long periods of no schooling at all alternated with more or less accidental sessions of class work. It was not until 1934 that a public school was organized, always dependent upon the